

LIVING HISTORY THE CIVIL WAR

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN
THE STATES IN DOCUMENTS, ESSAYS,
LETTERS, SONGS AND POEMS

EDITED BY HENRY STEELE COMMAGER
REVISED AND EXPANDED BY ERIK BRUUN



APPENDIX A RECONSTRUCTING THE NATION

When the shooting stopped on the battlefield, many of the most bitterly contested issues that had led to the Civil War remained in dispute. Union armies had prevented the Confederate states from seceding, but military might alone could not resolve the deep societal differences that had led to the schism that existed between North and South.

The terms under which the United States reintegrated the South back into the Union helped determine the long-term impact of the Civil War. Reconstruction was a long, difficult struggle that embraced a wide spectrum of issues—land, labor, education, civil rights and more. Real changes took place, and some of those changes met stiff resistance.

"Reconstruction" is the term applied to what happened after the Civil War. But other labels might have been "Restoration" or even "revolution." Would what came to be known as Reconstruction amount to no more than an edict that simply restored the states back into the Union? Or would it be a more involved process that implied a broader reshaping of the South? Or, further still, would it be a fundamental transformation of Southern society writ large, as some radical Republicans sought?

The debate over Reconstruction began during the war. As early as December 1863, Lincoln issued a Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, offering a full pardon and restoration of property (except for slaves) for those engaged in the rebellion by simply swearing loyalty to the Union. Any state where 10 percent of the population who voted in the 1860 election made this pledge could return to the Union. It was a moderate approach aimed at rewarding Southern Unionists who remained loyal to the federal government.

Congress, however, wanted to go much further. On July 2, 1864, Congress passed the

Wade-Davis Bill, requiring much stricter requirements for readmittance to the Union. The legislation required that half a rebellious state's population swear that they did not support secession (a very difficult threshold to accomplish in 1864), and it called for legal safeguards for freed slaves. Lincoln issued a pocket veto and the bill expired. But the parameters of the debate for a reconstructed Union were set, with a moderate approach under the authority of the government's executive branch on one side, and a radical revolution directed by the legislative branch on the other.

After the election of 1864, Lincoln signaled a shift in his position, favoring a limited enfranchisement of African Americans but relatively generous terms of amnesty. When Lincoln was assassinated, however, Andrew Johnson became the president. After Lincoln's first term, Johnson had been selected as Lincoln's vice-presidential running-mate for the 1864 election in order to broaden Lincoln's appeal to Southern Unionists. Johnson was a Unionist from Tennessee who represented the non-slaveholding Southern Yeoman class. But while he despised the slaveholding Southern aristocracy, his policies demonstrated little concern for the rights of African Americans.

Reconstruction is often divided into two periods: Presidential Reconstruction from 1865 to 1867, and Congressional Reconstruction from 1867 to 1877. Johnson outlined his approach in May 1865. He offered a pardon to all southern whites, with the exception of planters with 20 slaves or more. These planters could get an individual pardon if they applied for one. Johnson supported the restitution of all property to Southerners, but this excluded slaves. He called for state conventions to reconstitute state governments. No requirements were placed on the conventions, other than they free the slaves and

republican secession. None of the conventions dealt with the issue of black suffrage or the rights of freed slaves. In fact, some of the new state governments passed "black codes" that effectively reimposed a slave-like status on African Americans. Johnson then announced that Reconstruction was complete.

But Congress did not agree. Dominated by radical Republicans, Congress refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the new state governments. Johnson and Congress were in constant conflict. Johnson vetoed the Freedmen's Bill and various civil rights bills. This discord was one of the reasons Congress pushed so hard to pass the Fourteenth Amendment. Republicans wanted to remove the issue of "equality before the law" from the realm of politics and into the Constitution as a basic right.

In 1867, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act, overriding a veto by Johnson. It nullified the existing governments in the South, called for new governments, created five military districts, and barred Confederates from holding office. The way was paved for Republicans and former slaves to get involved in the Reconstruction of the South. The battles with Johnson continued, culminating with an 11-week impeachment trial that fell one vote short of ousting Johnson.

Despite the Republicans' sweeping Reconstruction legislation, the impeachment of Johnson and the election of President Ulysses S. Grant, the effort to revolutionize Southern society fell apart very quickly. By 1870, many of the former Confederate states had been readmitted into the Union but were under the control of conservative Democrats. In 1876, only South Carolina, Louisiana and Florida were still under Republican control. Once Democrats regained control of their states, they reversed Republican efforts to strengthen schools and protect civil rights for freed slaves.

Several things contributed to the Republican collapse. Some of the most important and strident Republican leaders died—Thaddeus Stevens in 1868 and Charles Sumner in 1874—and the new generation of leaders did not share their radical vision. Scandal after scandal in the Grant administration undermined Republican credibility. Instead of being saviors of the nation, Republican politicians were seen as self-serving and corrupt. Economic depression, triggered by the Panic of 1873, put 3 million people out of work.

Northern citizens simply lost interest in fighting the South's wrongs. A new ethos emerged of putting the issues of the war behind the nation. Disillusionment had set in and there was a desire for sectional reconciliation and harmony.

With the election of 1876, a deal was struck in the presidential race. The Democrats agreed to let the Republican Rutherford B. Hayes become president on the condition that federal troops be removed from the South. The agreement ended Reconstruction. Many of the issues, particularly those regarding civil rights, remained unresolved.

The historical treatment of Reconstruction has gone through different interpretations. For decades a Southern interpretation dominated. It was perhaps best exemplified by the D. W. Griffith film *The Birth of a Nation*. Republican Reconstruction figures were portrayed as corrupt, African Americans as unruly for freedom and childlike; and the Ku Klux Klan as protectors of Southern womanhood.

This oversimplified and one-sided perspective contained elements of truth, but it overlooked the commitment the nation had made to the protection of equal rights and due process. That commitment would serve as the basis of the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. The nation had been consolidated into a centralized, expansive industrial state. The Civil War and Reconstruction brought experiences and meaning to the ideals of freedom, democracy and liberty, even if they also sometimes reflected the underside of intolerance, inequality and violence toward those outside one's own community.

APPENDIX A.1 THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

At the conclusion of the Civil War much of the South was in a state of ruin and confusion; cities were devastated, towns sacked, fields lay fallow, and the economy in shambles. Thousands of people died of starvation. For millions of people, the main goal in the immediate months after the war was survival. With buildings destroyed, railroads ripped out of the ground, farms plundered and bridges demolished, no capital to reinvest in the economy and its labor system turned on its head, Southerners were confronted with a future

gloomier than any Americans had ever before faced on such a large scale.

Myra Lockett Avery recalled how even the wealthiest and most prestigious Southerners had become destitute. Sidney Andrews was a New England journalist who visited the Carolinas and Georgia shortly after the war. He wrote articles about what he found for newspapers in Boston and Chicago. In the South the post-Civil War years would be hard ones dedicated to rebuilding a demolished economy and healing a wounded society.

A. "Prominent Citizens Became Piesellers"
We did anything and everything we could to make a living. Prominent citizens became piesellers. Colonel Cary, of General Magruder's staff, came home to find his family desperately poor, as were all respectable folks. He was a brave soldier; an able officer—before the war, principal of a male academy at Hampton. Now he did not know to what he could turn his hand for the support of himself and family. He walked around his place, came in, and said to his wife: "My dear, I have taken stock of our assets. You pride yourself on your apple pies. We have an apple tree and a cow. I will gather the apples and milk the cow, and you will make the pies, and I will go around and sell them."

Armed with pies, he met his aforesaid antagonists at Camp Grant and conquered them quite. The pies were delicious; the seller was a soldier, an officer of distinction, in hard luck; and the men at Camp Grant were soldiers too. There was sharp demand and good prices; only the elite—officers of rank—could afford to indulge in these confections. Well it was that Yankee mothers had cultivated in their sons an appetite for pies. One Savannah lady made thirty dollars selling pies to Sherman's soldiers; in Georgia's aristocratic "city by the sea" highbred dames stood at basement windows selling cakes and pies to whoever would buy.

Colonel Cary had thrifty rivals throughout Dixie. A once-rich Planter near Columbia made a living by selling flowers; a Charleston aristocrat peddled tea by the pound and molasses by the

quart to his former slaves. General Stephen Elliott sold fish and oysters which he caught with his own hands. His friend, Captain Stoney, did likewise. Gentlemen of position and formerly of wealth did not pause to consider whether they would be discredited by pursuing occupations quite as humble. Men of high attainments, without capital, without any basis upon which to make a new start in life except "grit," did whatever they could find to do and made merry over it.

For months after the surrender, Confederates were passing through the country to their homes, and hospitality was free to every ragged and footsore soldier; the poor best the leader of every mansion afforded was at the command of the grayjacket. How diffidently proud men would ask for bread, their empty pockets shaming them! When any man turned them off with cold words, it was not well for his neighbors to know; for so he was like to have no more respectable guests. The soldiers were good company, bringing news from far and wide. Most were cheerful, glad they were going home, undaunted by long tramps ahead. The soldier was used to hard marches. Now that his course was set toward where loved ones watched for his coming, life had its rosy outlook that turned to gray for some who reached the spot where home had stood to find only a bank of ashes. Reports of country through which they came were often summed up: "White folks in the fields, Negroes flocking to towns. Freedmen's Bureau offices everywhere thronged with blacks." A man who belonged to the crippled squad, not one of whom had a full complement of arms and legs, told this story: As four of them were limping along near Lexington, they noticed a grayheaded white man in rough, mud-stained clothes turning furrows with a plow and behind him a white girl dropping corn. Taking him for a hired man, they hallooed: "Hello, there!" The man raised his head. "Say," they called, "can you tell us where we can get something to eat?" He waved them towards a house where a lady who was on the porch asked them

to have a seat and wait while she had food cooked.

They had an idea that she prepared with her own hands the dinner to which they presently sat down, of hot hockes, buttermilk, and a little meat so smothered in lettuce leaves that it looked a great deal. When they had cleared up the table, she said: "I am having more bread cooked if you can wait a few minutes. I am sorry we have not more meat and milk. I know this has been a very light repast for hungry men, but we have entertained others this morning, and we have not much left. We hate to send our soldiers hungry from the door; they ought to have the best of everything when they have fought so long and bravely and suffered so much." The way she spoke made them proud of the arms and legs they didn't have.

Now that hunger was somewhat appeased, they began to note surroundings. The dwelling was that of a military man, and a man of piety and culture. A lad running in addressed the lady as Mrs. Rendleton and said something about "where General Rendleton is plowing."

They stumbled to their crutches and in blushing confusion humble apologies, all the instincts of the soldier shocked at the liberties they had taken with an officer of such high grade and at the ease of manner with which they had sat at his table to be served by his wife. They knew their host for William Nelson Rendleton, late brigadier general, C.S.A., chief of artillery of the Army of Northern Virginia, a fighting preacher. She smiled when they blundered out the excuse that they had mistaken him for a day laborer.

"The mistake has been made before," she said. "Indeed, the General is a day laborer in his own field, and it does not mortify him in the least now that all our people have to work. He is thankful his strength is sufficient, and for the help that the schoolboys and his daughters give him." She put bread into their haversacks and sent them on their way rejoicing. The day laborer and his plow were close to the roadside, and as they passed, they drew themselves up in line

and brought all the hands they had to their ragged caps in salute.

Doctor Robert G. Stephens, of Atlanta, tells me of a Confederate soldier who, returning aimless to his Georgia home, made his wife hitch him to a plow which she drove, and they made a crop. A Northern missionary said in 1867, to a Philadelphia audience, that he had seen in North Carolina a white mother hitch herself to a plow which her eleven-year-old son drove, while another child dropped into the furrows seeds Northern charity had given.

—MYRTA LOCKETT AVERY, *Dixie After the War*

B. "In the Heart of Destruction"

Columbia, S. C., September 12, 1865—

Columbia is in the heart of Destruction. Being outside of it, you can only get in through one of the roads built by Ruin. Being in it, you can only get out over one of the roads walled by Desolation. You go north thirty-two miles and find the end of one railroad; southeast thirty-five miles and find the end of a third; southwest fifty miles and meet a fourth; and northwest twenty-nine miles and find the end of still another. Sherman came in here, the papers used to say, to break up the railroad system of the seaboard states of the Confederacy. He did his work so thoroughly that half a dozen years will nothing more than begin to repair the damage, even in this regard.

Certain bent rails are the first thing one sees to indicate the advent of his army. They are at Branchville. I looked at them with curious interest. "It passes my comprehension to tell what became of our railroads," said a traveling acquaintance; "one week we had passably good roads, on which we could reach almost any part of the state, and the next week they were all gone,—not simply broken up, but gone; some of the material was burned. I know, but miles and miles of iron have actually disappeared, gone out of existence." Branchville, as I have already said, was flanked, and the army did not take it in the line of march, but some of the boys paid a visit.

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At Orangeburg there is ample proof that the army passed that way. About one third of the town was burned. I found much dispute as to the origin of the fire; and while certain fellows of the baser sort loudly assert that it was the work of the Yankees, others of the better class express the belief that it originated with a resident who was angry at the Confederate officers. Thereabouts one finds plenty of railroad iron so bent and twisted that it can never again be used. The genius which our soldiers displayed in destroying railroads seems remarkable. How effectually they did it, when they undertook the work in earnest, no pen can make plain. "We could do something in that line, we thought," said an ex-Confederate captain, "but we were ashamed of ourselves when we saw how your men could do it."

We rode over the road where the army marched. Now and then we found solitary chimneys, but on the whole comparatively few houses were burned, and some of those were fired, it is believed, by persons from the Rebel army or from the neighboring locality. The fences did not escape so well, and most of the planters have had these to build during the summer. This was particularly the case near Columbia. Scarcely a tenth of that destroyed appears to have been rebuilt, and thousands of acres of land of much richness lie open as a common.

There is a great scarcity of stock of all kinds. What was left by the Rebel conscription officers was freely appropriated by Sherman's army, and the people really find considerable difficulty, not less in living than in traveling. Mills, formerly an article much in use, can only be had now in limited quantities; even at the hotels we have more meals without than with it. There are more mules than horses, apparently; and the animals whether mules or horses, are all in ill condition and give evidence of severe overwork.

Columbia was doubtless once the gem of the state. It is as regularly laid out as a checker-board—the squares being of uniform length and breadth and the streets of uniform width. What with its broad streets, beautiful shade

trees, handsome lawns, extensive gardens, luxuriant shrubbery, and wealth of flowers, I can easily see that it must have been a delightful place of residence. No South Carolinian with whom I have spoken hesitates an instant in deciding that it was the most beautiful city on the continent; and, as already mentioned, they charge its destruction directly to General Sherman.

It is now a wilderness of ruins. Its heart is but a mass of blackened chimneys and crumbling walls. Two thirds of the buildings in the place were burned, including, without exception, everything in the business portion. Not a store, office, or shop escaped; and for a distance of three fourths of a mile on each of twelve streets there was not a building left....

Every public building was destroyed, except the new and unfinished Statehouse. This is situated on the summit of tableland whereon the city is built, and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country, and must have been the first building seen by the victorious and on-marching Union army. From the summit of the ridge, on the opposite side of the river, a mile and a half away, a few shells were thrown at it, without doing any particular damage. With this exception, it was unharmed, though the workshops, in which were stored many of the architect's, caps, silks, etc., were burned—the fire, of course, destroying or seriously damaging their contents. The poverty of this people is so deep that there is no probability that it can be finished, according to the original design, during this generation at least. The ruin here is neither half so eloquent nor touching as that at Charleston. This is but the work of flame, and might have mostly been brought about in time of peace. Those ghostly and crumbling walls and those long-deserted and grass-grown streets show the prostration of a community—such prostration as only war could bring.

—SIDNEY ANDREWS, *The South Since the War*

"EDUCATION MUST BECOME UNIVERSAL"

The Republican Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands in March 1865 to help alleviate conditions for the 4 million African Americans who had escaped from slavery, had been granted freedom or were about to be freed at the conclusion of the Civil War. Almost all of the slaves were illiterate. Having gained their freedom, many also lost their means for survival. They did not have property, training or experience in a free economy.

The Freedmen's Bureau went about the task of establishing schools to teach freed slaves how to read, write and receive other basic education. The bureau also provided food, set up courts to protect emancipated slaves' civil rights, and founded savings banks. From 1865 to 1872 the bureau spent more than \$6 million on education and \$1.5 million for food; it provided medical assistance for more than 500,000 people.

But as this 1868 Congressional Report on the Freedmen's Bureau makes clear, the agency made significant accomplishments in the face of a hostile political environment. The report's conclusion that military enforcement would be necessary to perpetuate the agency's program proved correct. When Reconstruction ended and the military was withdrawn, white hostility pushed back many of the bureau's gains.

When our armies entered the South two facts became apparent: first, a surprising thirst for knowledge among the negroes; second, a large volunteer force of teachers for their instruction.

Without delay schools were successfully established and the earliest efforts to impart knowledge found the freedmen ready for its reception. Teachers of character and culture were ready from the first. To some extent the army had carried its own instructors. Negro servants of officers studied at the campfires of fellow servants. Chaplains of colored troops became instructors. In the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 the Christian Commission employed 50 teachers in colored camps and regiments.

At the close of the war it is believed that 20,000 colored soldiers could read intelligently and a much larger number were learning their first lessons.

Really wonderful results had been accomplished through the disinterested efforts of benevolent associations working in connection with the government. But arrangements were soon made to give, on a larger scale, systematic and impartial aid to all of them. This consisted in turning over for school use temporary government buildings no longer needed for military purposes, and buildings seized from disloyal owners; also transportation for teachers, books, and school furniture, with quarters and rations for teachers and superintendents when on duty.

Schools were taken in charge by the Bureau, and in some States carried on wholly (in connection with local efforts) by use of the "refugees and freedmen's fund." Teachers came under the general direction of the assistant commissioners, and protection through the department commanders was given to all engaged in the work.

Superintendents of schools for each State were appointed July 12, 1865, whose duty it was "to work as much as possible in connection with State officers who may have had school matters in charge, and to take cognizance of all that was being done to educate refugees and freedmen, secure protection to schools and teachers, promote method and efficiency, and to correspond with the benevolent agencies which were supplying his field."

The total number of pupils January 1, 1866, in all the colored schools, as near as could be ascertained, was 90,589; teachers, 1,314; schools, 740.

Wherever our troops broke through the lines of the enemy schools followed. At Hampton, Beaufort, North Carolina, Roanoke Island, and New Orleans, they were soon in operation. A very efficient system was instituted for Louisiana in the early part of 1864, by Major General Banks, then in command of that State. It was

supported by a military tax upon the whole population. Schools were opened in Savannah, Georgia, on the entrance of General Sherman, in December, 1864, and 500 pupils were at once enrolled. Ten intelligent colored persons were the first teachers, and nearly \$81,000 were immediately contributed by the negroes for their support. This work was organized by the Secretary of the American Tract Society, Boston.

Two of the largest of these schools were in "Bryan's slave mart," where platforms occupied a few days before with bondmen for sale became crowded with children learning to read.

At the end of the school year, July 1, 1866, it was found that while complete organization had not been reached, the schools in nearly all the States were steadily gaining in numbers, attainment, and general influence.

The official reports of superintendents gave 975 schools, 1,405 teachers, and 90,778 pupils. But these figures were not a true exhibit of the actual increase. They did not include many schools which failed to report. It was estimated that in all the different methods of teaching there had been, during the preceding six months, 150,000 freedmen and their children earnestly and successfully occupied in study.

Some change of sentiment had, at this time, been observed among the better classes of the South; those of higher intelligence acknowledging that education must become universal. Still, multitudes bitterly opposed the schools. Teachers were proscribed and ill-treated; school-houses were burned; many schools could not be opened, and others, after a brief struggle, had to be closed. Nevertheless, the country began to feel the moral power of this movement. Commendations came from foreign lands, and the universal demand of good men was that the work should go on.

As showing the desire for education among the freedmen, we give the following facts:

When the collection of the general tax for colored schools was suspended in Louisiana by military order, the consternation of the colored population was intense. Petitions began to pour

in. I saw one from the plantations across the river, at least thirty feet in length, representing ten thousand negroes. It was affecting to examine it, and note the names and marks [X] of such a long list of parents, ignorant themselves, but begging that their children might be educated, promising that from beneath their present burdens, and out of their extreme poverty, they would pay for it.

In September, 1865, J. W. Alvord, the present general superintendent, was appointed "Inspector of Schools." He traveled through nearly all the States lately in insurrection, and made the first general report to the Bureau on the subject of education, January 1, 1866.

Extracts from this report give the condition of the freedmen throughout the whole South. He says, "The desire of the freedmen for knowledge has not been overestimated. This comes from several causes.

"1. The natural thirst for knowledge common to all men.

"2. They have seen power and influence among white people always coupled with learning; it is the sign of that elevation to which they now aspire.

"3. Its mysteries, hitherto hidden from them in written literature, excite to the special study of books.

"4. Their freedom has given wonderful stimulus to all effort, indicating a vitality which augurs well for their whole future condition and character.

"5. But, especially, the practical business of life now upon their hands shows their immediate need of education.

"This they all feel and acknowledge; hence their unusual welcome of and attendance upon schools is confined to no one class or age.

Those advanced in life throw up their hands at first in despair, but a little encouragement places even these as pupils at the alphabet.

"Such as are in middle life, the laboring classes, gladly avail themselves of evening and Sabbath-schools. They may be often seen during the intervals of toil, when off duty as servants,

on steamboats, along the railroads, and when unemployed in the streets in the city, or on plantations, with some fragment of a spelling-book in their hands, earnestly at study.

"Regiments of colored soldiers have nearly all made improvement in learning. In some of them, where but few knew their letters at first, nearly every man can now read, and many of them write. In other regiments one-half or two-thirds can do this.

"Even in hospitals I discovered very commendable efforts at such elementary instruction.

"But the great movement is among children of the usual school age. Their parents, if at all intelligent, encourage them to study. Your officers add their influence, and it is a fact, not always true of children, that among those recently from bondage, the school-house, however rough and uncomfortable, is of all places the most attractive. A very common punishment for misdemeanor is the threat of being kept at home for a day. The threat, in most cases, is sufficient."

The report goes on to say, "Much opposition has been encountered from those who do not believe in the elevation of the negro. A multitude of facts might be given. It is the testimony of all superintendents that if military power should be withdrawn, our schools would cease to exist.

"This opposition is sometimes ludicrous as well as inhuman. A member of the legislature, in session while I was at New Orleans, was passing one of the schools with me, having at the time its recess, the grounds about the building being filled with children. He stopped and looked intently, then earnestly inquired 'Is this a school?' 'Yes,' I replied. 'What of niggers?' 'These are colored children, evidently,' I answered. 'Well! Well!' said he, and raising his hands, 'I have seen many an absurdity in my lifetime, but this is the climax of absurdities! I am sure he did not speak from effect, but as he felt. He left me abruptly, and turned the next corner to take his seat with legislators similarly prejudiced."

The act of July 16, 1866, enlarged the powers of the Bureau in regard to education. It sanctioned co-operation with private benevolent associations, and with agents and teachers associated by them. It directed the Commissioner to "hire or provide, by lease, buildings for purposes of education whenever teachers and means of instruction, without cost to the government, should be provided." And, also, that he should "furnish such protection as might be required for the safe conduct of such schools."

The schools, on the passage of this act, assumed in all respects a more enlarged and permanent character. Schools in the cities and larger towns began to be graded. Normal or high schools were planned, and a few came into existence. The earliest of these were at Norfolk, Charleston, New Orleans and Nashville.

Industrial schools for girls, in which sewing, knitting, straw-braiding, etc., were taught, were encouraged. School buildings, by rent or construction, were largely provided, and new stimulus was given to every department.

The freedmen, in view of new civil rights, and what the Bureau had undertaken for them, had gained an advanced standing, with increasing self-respect and confidence that a vastly improved condition was within their reach.

Up to this time it had been questioned, whether colored children could advance rapidly into the higher branches, but it was found that 23,727 pupils were in writing, 12,970 in geography, 31,692 in arithmetic, and 1,573 in higher branches; and that out of 1,430 teachers of the day and night schools, 458 were colored persons. The January report stated that "the actual results reached since these schools commenced, both in numbers and in advancement, were surprising." At the end of the school year, July 1, 1867, it could be said, "We look back with astonishment at the amount accomplished. Such progress as is seen under auspices admitted to be unfavorable; the permanency of the schools, scarcely one failing when once commenced; the rapid increase of general intelligence among the whole colored population, are

marks of constant remark by every observer. Thus far this educational effort, considered as a whole, has been eminently successful. The country and the world are surprised to behold a depressed race, so lately and so long in bondage, springing to their feet and entering the lists in hopeful competition with every rival."

Reports from all the States show that there are 1,839 day and night schools, 2,087 teachers, and 111,442 pupils. By adding industrial schools, and those "within the knowledge of the superintendant," the number will be 2,207 schools, 2,442 teachers, and 130,735 pupils.

Sabbath-schools also show much larger numbers during the past year, the figures being 1,126 schools and 80,647 pupils; and if we add those "not regularly reported," the whole number of Sabbath-schools will be 1,468, with 105,786 pupils; totals, schools of all kinds, as reported, 3,695; pupils, 238,342. Of these schools 1,086 are sustained wholly or in part by the freedmen, and 391 of the buildings in which these schools are held are owned by themselves; 699 of the teachers in the day and night schools are colored and 1,388 white; 28,068 colored pupils have paid tuition, the average amount per month being \$12.720.96, or a fraction over 45 cents per scholar. Only 8,743 pupils were free before the war.

As showing the progress of the Schools, it will be observed that 42,879 pupils are now in writing, 23,957 in geography, 40,454 in arithmetic, and 4,661 in higher branches. Twenty-one normal or high schools are in operation, with 1,821 pupils, the schools having doubled in number during the last year with three times the number of pupils. Of these schools not many are far advanced, but they are intended to be what their name implies.

There are now 35 industrial schools, giving instruction to 2,124 pupils in the various kinds of female labor, not including 4,185 in the day schools, who are taught needle-work. The average daily attendance in all the above schools has been nearly 75 per cent of the enrollment.

There are now connected with these schools 44 children's temperance societies, called the "Vanguard of Freedom," having, in the aggregate, 3,000 members. These societies are constantly increasing, and doing much to train children in correct moral habits.

Education in thrift and economy is effected through the influence of the "Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company," chartered by Congress, and placed under the protection of this Bureau. Twenty branches of this institution, located in as many of the central cities and larger towns of the Southern States, are now in operation. Six of these banks have, at this time (January 1, 1868), on deposit an average of over \$50,000 each, the whole amount now due depositors at all the branches being \$585,770.17. Four times this amount has been deposited and drawn out for use in important purchases, homesteads etc. Both the business and the influence of the banks are rapidly increasing. Multitudes of these people never before had the first idea of saving for future use. Their former industry was only a hard, profitless task, but under the instructions of the cashiers the value of money is learned, and they are stimulated to earn it.

—Congressional Report on the Freedmen's Bureau

APPENDIX A.3

FIRST RECONSTRUCTION ACT

When Vice President Andrew Johnson ascended to the executive office after Lincoln's assassination, he sought to continue Lincoln's relatively lenient Reconstruction policy of creating provisional state governments in the former Confederate states. But as Johnson had little interest in protecting—much less enhancing—the rights of blacks in the South, his only requirement was that these states abolish slavery and repudiate secession. As a result, several states imposed strict new black codes that virtually re-created the slave status of many African Americans. Some states decided to repeal, rather than repudiate, secession. Johnson accepted these actions.

But Congress howled. With the victory of radical Republicans in the 1866 election, Congress imposed a much harsher policy calling for military control over the former Confederate states. In order to be readmitted into the Union, state conventions were required in which delegates were elected by universal male suffrage, with the exception of anyone who participated in the Confederate war effort. As a result, state conventions consisted almost entirely of freed slaves and newly arrived citizens from the North, derisively known as "carpetbaggers." Johnson vetoed the act, saying it was unconstitutional. Congress overrode the veto.

A flurry of vetoes and override votes ensued concerning civil rights, reconstruction policy and presidential authority. Relations between Johnson and Congress rapidly deteriorated. In the summer of 1867 Johnson dismissed Secretary of War Edwin Stanton while Congress was in recess. Republicans accused Johnson of violating the Tenure of Office Act, which Johnson had vetoed but was passed with an override vote by Congress. On February 24, 1868, the House of Representatives resolved to impeach Johnson. Two weeks later the impeachment was presented to the Senate. On May 16, 1868, the Senate voted 35-19 to impeach Johnson, one vote shy of the required two-thirds majority for conviction.

Whereas no legal State governments or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established; therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States as in hereinafter prescribed, and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the first district; North Carolina and South Carolina the second district; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third district; Mississippi and Arkansas the

fourth district; and Louisiana and Texas the fifth district.

Section 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the President to assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to perform his duties and enforce his authority within the district to which he is assigned.

Section 3. And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of each officer assigned as aforesaid, to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals; and to this end he shall allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and to try offenders, or, when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose, and all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority under this act, shall be null and void.

Section 4. And be it further enacted, That all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted, and no sentence of any military commission or tribunal hereby authorized, affecting the life or liberty of any person, shall be executed until it is approved by the officer in command of the district, and the laws and regulations for the government of the army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they conflict with its provisions: Provided, That no sentence of death under the provisions of this act shall be carried into effect without the approval of the President.

Section 5. That when the people of any one of said rebel States shall have formed a constitution of government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State twenty-one years

old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion or for felony at common law, and when such constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates, and when such constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State, by a vote of its legislature elected under said constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and senators and representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative in said States: Provided, That no person excluded from the privilege of holding office by said proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, shall be eligible to election as a member of the convention to frame a constitution for any of said rebel States, nor shall any such person vote for members of such convention.

—UNITED STATES CONGRESS

APPENDIX A.4

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The United States passed three landmark amendments to the Constitution immediately following the Civil War. All three guaranteed the rights of citizenship to African Americans, and the Fourteenth Amendment expanded the rights of all Americans.

In January 1865 Congress passed legislation for the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution banning slavery from the United States.

Northern states quickly approved the amendment, but to secure ratification by three-quarters of the states, at least some Southern states needed to approve it. Ratification by legislatures in former Confederate states became a condition for restoring relations with the Union. The amendment received final ratification on December 6, 1865, ensuring the freedom of more than 4 million African American slaves from bondage.

Recalling Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's ruling in the Dred Scott decision that blacks—whether free or enslaved—would not be considered as citizens, Congress initiated the Fourteenth Amendment defining citizenship and guaranteeing the equal protection of laws. The immediate effect of the amendment was thus to secure the civil rights of the freedmen. The long-term impact of the equal protection clause, however, embraced a wider range of constituencies (such as women and corporations) and had much broader implications on a spectrum of legal issues.

The second, third and fourth sections of the Fourteenth Amendment were specifically directed at reshaping the South and punishing those who had assisted the Confederate war effort. The second section gives Southern states the choice of either accepting African-American voters or losing seats in the House of Representatives, thus all but compelling them to enfranchise former slaves. The third section wiped out the South's former political leadership by banning former Confederate leaders from taking public office without swearing an oath in support of the Constitution. Finally, the fourth section disavowed Confederate war debt, validated the United States war debt, and disallowed all claims for loss of property, including slaves.

In early 1869 the Republican Congress initiated the Fifteenth Amendment, which enfranchised African-American men. Many former Confederate states had already given former slaves the right to vote in their new state constitutions, but radical Republicans were concerned that when the Reconstruction period ended, the new state governments would retract that right. The immediate effect of the amendment was to enfranchise African Americans in the North. Nevertheless, Republican fears were well founded as Southern Democrats imposed a series of obstacles for African-American voters in the late 1800s, including the poll tax, highly restrictive registration laws, literacy and property qualifications, and other loopholes. In many parts of the

Deep South, African Americans were effectively barred from voting until the Civil Rights movements in the 1960s.

A. Thirteenth Amendment

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

—UNITED STATES CONGRESS

B. Fourteenth Amendment

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of

President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

—UNITED STATES CONGRESS

C. Fifteenth Amendment

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

—UNITED STATES CONGRESS

APPENDIX A.5

"THE END OF THE WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT"

The New Orleans Tribune was the first daily newspaper published by African Americans. In the wake of the Civil War, it served as a voice for freed slaves. The November 22, 1867, editorial

shows that despite resentments of how the federal military had implemented Reconstruction policies, renewed federal initiatives to enfranchise and empower African Americans offered hope that freed slaves—who represented more than 35 percent of the total population in the South—might gain political power.

After three years' hesitation and delay the National Government concluded at last to take the right step for reconstruction. Every way was first tried except the sound and logical one. The first attempt at reconstruction was through military power. Provisional officers, taken from the army, were appointed as governors and mayors; provost marshals and freedmen's bureau agents were intrusted with the supervision of affairs in the country parishes. They understood very little of the political situation. Governor Sibley discarded the propositions of the Free State Committee. Provost marshals showed the rebels more courtesy and granted them more favors than they did to poor but devoted Union men. Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau might have been designated as planter's agents. They took more trouble to procure hands for the owners of large plantations than to protect the freed people and defend their rights. We still recollect Gen. Banks' order on "small-pox passes," by which, under the absurd plea of preventing the spreading of small-pox, the colored people were placed under a law of exception as far as their movements were concerned. They were not allowed to change plantations, they could not leave a place and hunt for work—which is the natural right of all free laborers—unless they first obtained a pass from their former employer, who, of course, refused to give them any. The hypocritical "small-pox passes" remain on Gen. Banks' record, as one of the most flagrant failures to understand and to establish freedom. The pro-slavery spirit inspired the act of the military administration. The military was not the power to understand civil liberty; generals used to arbitrary command, felt better disposed in favor of the common laborers. They were, moreover, unwilling to take the responsibility of any

important change. And after Butler—who was an exception to the rule—had left us, they did, perhaps unconsciously, as much as they could for the slave power, and as little as they could for the cause of liberty and the rights of man.

At last, however, the military government relinquished its hold. The Convention of 1864 assembled, and under the Constitution they framed, a civil government having its legislative, its executive, and judicial officers, was inaugurated. The attempt was made under the inspiration of the military, and could be, of course, but a continuance of the same errors already made. A very small number of the people of a small number of parishes was called upon to vote. The representatives of the old Union minority of white men met at the City Hall, and ignoring the change of the times, believing themselves the legitimate successors of King Cotton, they made an oligarchical Constitution, nearly as bad, for it was as partial as that of 1852. They forgot through pride and presumption, that they had no power by themselves to uphold the white union oligarchy thus created. The fact is that the very day when military rule came to an end, and the qualified voters—the white voters—under the Constitution of 1864 went to the polls, the Union oligarchs were put aside and rebel officers reinstated in their stead. It did not take great power of intellect to foresee the result. The Union and subsequently the *Tribune* warned our white friends, at the time, of the evident fate in store for them. Still they kept up their illusions; for could they listen to a black organ? The dullest among them believed himself smarter than any colored man in the land, and down they went, having consummated their own ruin. Gov. Wells vindicated our forebodings. He promptly turned them out of office; and then they could see whether the black organ had seen things correctly or not. From that day they began to call again at our office; they said they were ready to retrieve their faults, and to proclaim universal suffrage. But the golden opportunity had passed away, they had been blind at the

opportunity time; they had played in their enemies' hands. And rebels showed at the Mechanics' Institute how they intended to treat them.

This was the end of the Union white man's government. Since the eventful day of the 30th of July, 1866, we have lived under the grasp of the rebel oligarchy, restored to power. But Congress has finally given us the means of relief. After governments of minorities, we are at last enabled to organize a government of the people. Let us hope that the Convention of 1867 will have more foresight, a sounder judgment and more liberalism than had the Convention of 1864. They have to work in the interest of the whole people and secure the rights of all classes of citizens, of whatever race or color, unless they want to see the fabric they will attempt to build up crumble to pieces, and partake of the fate of the government erected in 1864.

—*The New Orleans Tribune*

APPENDIX A.6

BLACK PARLIAMENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA

White Southerners despised the new terms of Reconstruction. They called Northerners who held office in the new state governments "carpetbaggers," a term suggesting that they had no stake in Southern society. Everything they owned could be hastily packed up into a carpetbag suitcase. Southern whites who cooperated with the new governments were dubbed "scalawags." The spectacle of African Americans voting for public office and holding elected positions shocked white Southerners. Their very presence fostered resentment and complaints of "Negro rule."

James S. Pike was an antislavery Republican from Maine. He had worked for many years as a Washington correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. Lincoln named Pike as minister to Holland in 1861. Pike visited South Carolina during Reconstruction and wrote *The Prostrate State*, which vividly described the harshness of Reconstruction policies on the

state. The following excerpt offers a tragicomic description of the state legislature in session.

Yesterday, about 4 P.M., the assembled wisdom of the state, whose achievements are illustrated on that theater, issued forth from the state-house. About three-quarters of the crowd belonged to the African race. They were of every hue, from the light octoroon to the deep black. They were such a looking body of men as might pour out of a market house or a courthouse at random in any Southern state. Every Negro type and physiognomy was here to be seen, from the genteel servingman to the rough-hewn customer from the rice or cotton field. Their dress was as varied as their countenances. There was the secondhand black frock coat of inflam gentility, glossy and threadbare. There was the stovepipe hat of many ironings and departed styles. There was also to be seen a total disregard of the proprieties of costume in the coarse and dirty garments of the field, the scrub jackets and slouch hats of soiling labor. In some instances rough woolen comforters embraced the neck and hid the absence of linen. Heavy brogans and short, torn trousers it was impossible to hide. The dusty tide flowed out into the littered and barren grounds and, issuing through the coarse wooden fence of the enclosure, melted away into the street beyond. These were the legislators of South Carolina.

We will enter the House of Representatives. Here sit one hundred and twenty-four members. Of these, twenty-three are white men, representing the remains of the old civilization. These are good-looking, substantial citizens. They are men of weight and standing in the communities they represent. They are all from the hill country. The flocks of sixty and seventy winches whiten the heads of some among them. There they sit, grim and silent. They feel themselves to be but loose stones, thrown in to partially obstruct a current they are powerless to resist. They say little and do little as the days go by. They simply watch the rising tide and mark the progressive steps of the inundation. They

hold their places reluctantly. They feel themselves to be in some sort martyrs, bound stoically to suffer in behalf of all that still great element in the state whose prostrate fortunes are becoming the sport of an unpying fate. Grouped in a corner of the commodious and well-furnished chamber, they stolidly survey the noisy riot that goes on in the great black Left and Center, where the business and debates of the House are conducted and where sit the strange and extraordinary guides of the fortunes of a once proud and haughty state. In this crucial trial of his pride, his manhood, his prejudices, his spirit, it must be said of the Southern Bourbon of the

Legislature that he comports himself with a dignity, a reserve, and a decorum is upon him. He is gloomy, disconsolate, hopeless. The grayheads of this generation openly profess that they look for no relief. They see no way of escape. The recovery of influence, of position, of control in the state, is felt by them to be impossible. They accept their position with a stoicism that promises no reward here or hereafter. They are the types of a conquered race. They staked all and lost all. Their lives remain; their property and their children do not. War, emancipation, and grinding taxation have consumed them. Their struggle now is against complete confiscation. They endure, and wait for the night.

This dense Negro crowd they confront do the debating, the squabbling, the lawmaking, and create all the clamor and disorder of the body. These twenty-three white men are but the observers, the enforced auditors, of the dull and clumsy imitation of a deliberative body whose appearance in their present capacity is at once a wonder and a shame to modern civilization.

Deducting the twenty-three members referred to, who comprise the entire strength of the opposition, we find one hundred and one remaining. Of this one hundred and one, ninety-four are colored, and seven are their white allies....

One of the things that first strike a casual observer in this Negro assembly is the fluency of debate, if the endless chatter that goes on

there can be dignified with the term. The leading topics of discussion are all well understood by the members, as they are of a practical character and appeal directly to the personal interests of every legislator as well as to those of his constituents. When an appropriation bill is up to raise money to catch and punish the Ku Klux, they know exactly what it means. They feel it in their bones. So too with educational measures. The free school comes right home to them; then the business of arming and drilling the black militia—they are eager on this point. Sambo can talk on these topics and those of kindred character and their endless ramifications day in and day out. There is no end to his gush and babble. The intellectual level is that of a bevy of fresh converts at a Negro camp meeting. Of course this kind of talk can be extended indefinitely. It is the doggerel of debate and not beyond the reach of the lowest parts. Then the Negro is imitative in the extreme. He can copy like a parrot or a monkey, and he is always ready for a trial of his skill. He believes he can do anything and never loses a chance to try and is just as ready to be laughed at for his failure as applauded for his success. He is more vivacious than the white, and being more volatile and good-natured, he is correspondingly more irrepressible. His measure of language in his limitations is at times ludicrous beyond measure. He notoriously loves a joke or an anecdote and will burst into a broad guffaw on the smallest provocation. He breaks out into an incoherent harangue on the floor just as easily, and being without practice, discipline, or experience and wholly oblivious of Lindley Murray or any other restraint on composition, he will go on repeating himself, dancing as it were to the music of his own voice, forever. He will speak half a dozen times on one question and every time say the same things without knowing it. He answers completely to the description of a stupid speaker in Parliament given by Lord Derby on one occasion: it was said of him that he did not know what he was going to say when he got up, he did not know what he was

saying while he was speaking, and he did not know what he had said when he sat down.

But the old stagers admit that the colored brethren have a wonderful aptness at legislative proceedings. They are quick as lightning at detecting points of order, and they certainly make incessant and extraordinary use of their knowledge. No one is allowed to talk five minutes without interruption, and one interruption is the signal for another and another until the original speaker is smothered under an avalanche of them. Forty questions of privilege will be raised in a day. At times nothing goes on but alternating questions of order and of privilege. The inefficient colored friend who sits in the Speaker's chair cannot suppress this extraordinary element of the debate. Some of the blackest members exhibit a pertinacity of intrusion in raising these points of order and questions of privilege that few white men can equal. Their struggles to get the floor, their bellowings and physical contortions, baffle description. The Speaker's hammer plays a perpetual tattoo, all to no purpose. The talking and the interruptions from all quarters go on with the utmost license. Every one extenuates himself as good as his neighbor and puts in his oar, apparently as often for riot and confusion as for anything else. It is easy to imagine what are his ideas of propriety and dignity among a crowd of his own color, and these are illustrated without reserve. The Speaker orders a member whom he has discovered to be particularly unruly to take his seat. The member obeys and, with the same motion he sits down, throws his feet on his desk, hiding himself from the Speaker by the soles of his boots. In an instant he appears again on the floor. After a few experiences of this sort, the Speaker threatens, in a laugh, to call "the gemman" to order. This is considered a capital joke, and a guffaw follows. The laugh goes round, and then the peanuts are cracked and munched faster than ever, one hand being employed in fortifying the inner man with this nutriment of universal use while the other enforces the views of the orator. This laughing

propensity of the sable crowd is a great cause of disorder. They laugh as hens cackle—one begins and all follow.

But underneath all this shocking burlesque upon legislative proceedings, we must not forget that there is something very real to this uncouth and unmannered multitude. It is not all sham nor all burlesque. They have a genuine interest and a genuine earnestness in the business of the assembly which we are bound to recognize and respect unless we would be accounted shallow critics. They have an earnest purpose, born of a conviction that their position and condition are not fully assured, which lends a sort of dignity to their proceedings. The barbarous, animated jargon in which they so often indulge is on occasion seen to be so transparently sincere and weighty in their own minds that sympathy supplants disgust. The whole thing is a wonderful novelty to them as well as to observers. Seven years ago these men were raising corn and cotton under the whip of the overseer. Today they are raising points of order and questions of privilege. They find they can raise one as well as the other. They prefer the latter. It is easier and better paid. Then, it is the evidence of an accomplished result. It means escape and defense from old oppressors. It means liberty. It means the destruction of prison walls only too real to them. It is the sunshine of their lives. It is their day of jubilee. It is their long-promised vision of the Lord God Almighty.

—JAMES SHEPHERD PIKE, *The Prostrate State*

APPENDIX A.7

"A FULL PARDON"

On December 25, 1868, Andrew Johnson issued an amnesty proclamation pardoning everyone who participated in the Confederate war effort and restoring their full rights as citizens. The amnesty was similar to Lincoln's 1863 Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction. The restoration of citizenship rights went contrary to Congress's Reconstruction program. Armed with the ability to vote, Southerners used their restored political

authority against the state governments established by the federal governments.

Whereas, the authority of the Federal Government having been re-established in all the States and Territories within the jurisdiction of the United States, and that a universal amnesty and pardon for participation in said rebellion extended to all who have borne any part therein will tend to secure permanent peace, order, and prosperity throughout the land, and to renew and fully restore confidence and fraternal feeling among the whole people, and their respect for and attachment to the National Government, designed by its patriotic founders for the general good:

Now, therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Johnson, hereby proclaim and declare unconditionally, and without reservation, to all and to every person who directly or indirectly participated in the late insurrection or rebellion, a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason against the United States, or of adhering to their enemies during the late civil war, with restoration of all rights, privileges, and immunities under the constitution and the laws which have been made in pursuance thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have signed these presents with my hand, and have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

—ANDREW JOHNSON

APPENDIX A.8

THE KU KLUX KLAN

Reacting against the enfranchisement of African Americans, Southern whites formed several secret organizations during the era of Reconstruction to undermine federal policies and intimidate African Americans. The most notorious and largest group was the Ku Klux Klan, founded in 1865 in Pulaski, Tennessee. These organizations murdered, whipped, and terrorized African Americans who attempted to exercise their newly found rights as citizens.

The documents below provide descriptions of the impact of the Ku Klux Klan. The first entry is

an account provided by Ben Johnson of Durham, South Carolina, when he was interviewed at the age of 85 for the Federal Writers' Project's *Slave Narratives*. The following document was a letter presented by African-American residents in Frankfort, Kentucky. It was one of several formal complaints brought to Congress alerting the federal government to the extent of terrorism that was being inflicted on them, and it cites 64 specific incidents in which more than 50 African Americans were murdered by the Ku Klux Klan or mobs.

Congress responded to the rising violence by making violent abuse of civil and political rights a federal crime and directing the military to crack down on Klan activities, hundreds of people were arrested, leading to a decline in terrorism. The end of Reconstruction in 1877, however, prompted a resurgence in lynchings. One hundred or more African Americans were lynched every year for the last 20 years of the 19th century. Violence against African Americans was typically used as a way to intimidate them from attempting to elevate their suppressed status in society.

A. "Shook Hands with Bob 'fore they Hung Him"

I never will forget when they hung Cy Guy. They hung him for a scandalous insult to a white woman, and they come'd after him a hundred strong.

They ties him there in the woods, and they scratches Cy's arm to git some blood, and with that blood they writes that he shall hang between the heavens and earth till he am dead, dead, dead, and that any nigger who takes down the body shall be hunged too.

Well, sir, the next morning there he hung, right over the road, and the sentence hanging over his head. Nobody'd bother with that body for four days, and there it hung, swinging in the wind, but the fourth day the sheriff comes and takes it down.

There was Ed and Cindy, who 'fore the war belonged to Mr. Lynch, and after the war he told 'em to move. He gives 'em a month, and they ain't gone, so the Ku Kluxes gits 'em. It was on a cold night when they cored and drugged the niggers outen bed. They

carried 'em down in the woods and whup them, then they throws 'em in the pond, their bodies breaking the ice. Ed come out and come to our house, but Cindy ain't been seed since.

Sam Allen in Caswell County was told to move, and after a month the hundred Ku Klux come a-roving his casket, and they tells him that his time has come and often he wants to tell his wife goodbye and say his prayers hurry up.

They set the coffin on two chairs, and Sam kisses his old woman who am a-crying, then he kneels down side of his bed with his head on the pillow and his arms throwed out in front of him.

He sets there for a minute and when he riz he had a long knife in his hand. Fore he could be grabbed he done kill two of the Ku Kluxes with the knife, and he done gone outen the door. They aint catch him heiber, and the next night when they comed back, 'etermined to git him, they shot another nigger by accident. ...

I know one time Miss Hendon inherits a thousand dollars from her pappy's state, and that night she goes with her sweetheart to the gate, and on her way back to the house she gits knocked in the head with a axe. She screams, and her two nigger servants, Jim and Sam, runs and saves her, but she am robbed.

Then she tells the folkses that Jim and Sam am the guilty parties, but her little sister swears that they aint, so they gits out of it.

After that they finds out that it am five mens—Awwater, Edwards, Andrews, Davis, and Markham. The preacher comes down to where they am hanging to preach their funeral, and he stands there while lightning plays round the dead men's heads and the wind blows the trees, and he preaches such a sermon as I aint never heard before.

Bob Boylan falls in love with another woman, so he burns his wife and four young-uns up in their house.

The Ku Kluxes gits him, of course, and they hangs him high on the old red oak on the Hillsboro road. After they hanged him, his lawyer says to us boys, "Bury him good, boys, just as good as you'd bury me often I was dead."

I shook hands with Bob fore they hanged him, and I helped to bury him too, and we bury him nices, and we all hopes that he done gone to glory.

—BEN JOHNSON, SLAVE NARRATIVES

B. Frankfort, Kentucky, Congressional Petition

To the Senate and house of Representatives in Congress assembled: We the Colored Citizens of Frankfort and vicinity to this day memorialize your honorable bodies upon the condition of affairs now existing in this the state of Kentucky.

We would respectfully state that life, liberty and property are unprotected among the colored races of this state. Organized Bands of desperate and lawless men mainly composed of soldiers of the late Rebel armies. Armed disciplined and disguised and bound by Oath and secret obligations, have by force terror and violence subverted all civil society among Colored people, thus utterly rendering insecure the safety of persons and property overthrowing all those rights which are the primary basis and objects of the government which are expressly guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States as amended. We believe you are not familiar with the description of the Ku Klux Klans riding nightly over the country going from County to County and in the County towns spreading terror wherever they go, by robbing whipping ravishing and killing our people without provocation, compelling Colored people to brake the ice and bathe in the Chilly waters of the Kentucky River.

The Legislature has adjourned they refused to enact any laws to suppress Ku Klux disorder. We regard them as now being licensed to continue their dark and bloody deeds under cover of the dark night. They refuse to allow us to testify in the state Courts where a white man is concerned. We find their deeds are perpetrated only upon Colored men and white Republicans. We also find that for our services to the Government and our race we have become the special object of hatred and persecution at the

hands of the Democratic party. Our people are driven from their homes in great numbers having no redress only the U.S. Courts which is in many cases unable to reach them. We would state that we have been law abiding citizens, pay our tax and in many parts of the state our people have been driven from the poles, refused the right to vote. Many have been slaughtered while attempting to vote, we ask how long is this state of things to last.

We appeal to you as law abiding citizens to enact some laws that will protect us. And that will enable us to exercise the rights of citizens. We see that the senator from this state denies there being organized Bands of desperadoes in the state for information we lay before you an number of violent acts occurred during his Administration. Although he (Governor John. W.) Stevenson says half Dozen instances of violence did occur these are not more than one half the acts that have occurred. The Democratic party has here a political organization composed only of Democrats not a single Republican can join them where many of these acts have been committed it has been proven that they were the men, don with Armes from the State Arsenal. We pray you will take steps to remedy these evils.

Don by a Committee of Grievances appointed at a meeting of all the Colored Citizens of Frankfort & vicinity.

Mar 25, 1871

Henry Marrs, Teacher colored school
Henry Lynn, Livery stable keeper
N. N. Trumbo, Grocer
Samuel Damsay
B. Smith
B. T. Champion, Barber

1. A mob visited Harrodsburg in Mercer County to take from jail a man named Robertson, Nov. 14, 1867.
2. Smith attacked and whipped by regulation in Zelun County Nov. 1867.
3. Colored school house burned by incendiaries in Breckinridge Dec. 24, 1867.
4. A Negro Jim Macclin taken from jail in

Frankfort and hung by mob January 28, 1868.

5. Sam Davis hung by mob in Harrodsburg May 28, 1868.
6. Wm. Pierce hung by a mob in Christian July 12, 1868.
7. Geo. Roger hung by a mob in Bradsfordville Martin County July 11, 1868.
8. Colored school Exhibition at Midway attacked by a mob July 31, 1868.
9. Seven person ordered to leave their homes at Sandford, Ky. Aug. 7, 1868.
10. Silas Woodford age sixty badly beaten by disguised mob. Mary Smith Curtis and Margaret Mosty also badly beaten, near Keene Jessamine County Aug. 1868.
11. Cabe Fields shot—and killed by disguised men near Keene Jessamine County Aug. 3, 1868.
12. James Gaines expelled from Anderson by Ku Klux Aug. 1868.
13. James Parker killed by Ku Klux Pulaski, Aug. 1868.
14. Noah Blankenship whipped by a mob in Pulaski County Aug. 1868.
15. Negroes attacked robbed and driven from Sumnerville in Green County Aug. 21, 1868.
16. William Gibson and John Gibson hung by a mob in Washington County Aug. 1868.
17. F. H. Montford hung by a mob near Coggs landing in Jessamine County Aug. 28, 1868.
18. Wm. Glasgow killed by a mob in Warren County Sep. 5, 1868.
19. Negro hung by a mob Sep. 1868.
20. Two Negroes beaten by Ku Klux in Anderson county Sep. 11, 1868.
21. Mob attacked house of Oliver Stone in Fayette county Sep. 11, 1868.
22. Mob attacked Cummins house in Pulaski County Cummins his daughter and a man named adams killed in the attack Sept. 18, 1868.
23. U. S. Marshall Mcuirether attacked captured

and battered with death in Lartre County by mob Sept. 1868.

24. Richardson house attacked in Conistville by mob and Crasban killed Sept. 28 1868.

25. Mob attacks Negro cabin at hanging forks in Lincoln County, John Mosteran killed & Cash & Coffey killed Sept. 1869.

26. Terry Laws & James Ryan hung by mob at Nicholasville Oct. 26, 1868.

27. Attack on Negro cabin in Spencer County—a woman outraged Dec. 1868.

28. Two negroes shot by Ku Klux at Sulphur Springs in Union County Dec. 1868.

29. Negro shot at Morganfield Union County, Dec. 1868.

30. Mob visited Edwin Burris house in Mercer County, January, 1869.

31. William Parker whipped by Ku Klux in Lincoln County Jan. 20/69.

32. Mob attacked and fired into house of Jesse Davises in Lincoln County Jan. 20, 1868.

33. Spears taken from his room at Harrodsburg by disguise men Jan. 19, 1869.

34. Albert Bradford killed by disguise men in Scott County, Jan. 20, 1869.

35. Ku Klux whipped boy at Standford March 12, 1869.

36. Mob attacked Frank Bournes house in Jessamine County, Roberts killed March 1869.

37. Geo Bratcher hung by mob on sugar creek in Garrard County March 30, 1869.

38. John Penny hung by a mob at Nevada Mercer county May 29, 1869.

39. Ku Klux whipped Lucien Green in Lincoln county June 1869.

40. Miller whipped by Ku Klux in madison county July 2d, 1869.

41. Chas Henderson shot and his wife killed by mob on silver creek Madison county July 1869.

42. Mob decoy from Harrodsburg and hangs Geo Bolling July 17, 1869.

43. Disguise band visited home of T. C. Varnardall and T. J. Varnardall in Mercer county July 18/69.

44. Mob attack Ronsey's house in Casey

county three men and one woman killed July 1869.

45. James Crowders hung by mob near Lebanon Merion county Aug. 9, 1869

46. Mob tar and feather a citizen of Cynthiana in Harrison county Aug. 1869.

47. Mob whipped and bruised a Negro in Davis county Sept. 1869.

48. Ku Klux burn colored meeting-house in Carroll county Sept. 1869.

49. Ku Klux whipped a negro at John Carnin's farm in Fayette county Sept. 1869.

50. Wiley Gervens killed by Ku Klux at Dixon Webster county Oct. 1869.

51. Geo. Rose killed by Ku Klux near Kirkville in Madison county Oct. 18, 1869.

52. Ku Klux ordered Wallace Sinkhorn to leave his home near Parkville Boyle county Oct. 1869.

53. Man named Shepherd shot by mob near Parksville Oct. 1869.

54. Regulator killed Geo Tanahly in Lincoln county Nov. 2d, 1869.

55. Ku Klux attacked Frank Searcy house in madison county one man shot Nov. 1869.

56. Searcy hung by mob madison county at Richmond Nov. 4th, 1869.

57. Ku Klux killed Robt. Mershon daughter shot Nov. 1869.

58. Mob whipped Pope Hall and Willert in Washington county Nov. 1869.

59. Regulators whipped Cooper in Palaski County Nov. 1869.

60. Ku Klux ruffians outraged negroes in Hickman county Nov. 20, 1869.

61. Mob take two Negroes from jail Richmond Madison county one hung one whipped Dec. 12, 1869.

62. Two Negroes killed by mob while in civil custody near Mayfield Graves county Dec. 1869.

63. Allen Cooper killed by Ku Klux in Adair county Dec. 24th, 1869.

64. Negroes whipped while on Scott's farm in

Franklin county Dec. 1869.

—COLORED CITIZENS OF FRANKFORD AND VICINITY

APPENDIX A.9

"WE HAD ONLY OUR IGNORANCE"

With the end of Reconstruction in the South, the protections and opportunities provided to freed slaves evaporated. Southern white Democratic state governments passed laws sharply restricting the newfound rights of African Americans and segregated blacks from white society. Plantation owners found new ways to bound their former slaves as miserably paid workers through share-cropping and other arrangements. For all practical purposes, many African Americans found themselves in virtually the same position they had occupied before their emancipation. This personal story of one anonymous former Georgia slave, which was published in the *Independent Magazine*, illustrates the chicanery, corruption and brutality that characterized blackwhite relations in the post-Reconstruction South.

I am a Negro and was born some time during the war in Elbert County, Ga., and I reckon by this time I must be a little over forty years old. My mother was not married when I was born, and I never knew who my father was or anything about him. Shortly after the war my mother died, and I was left to the care of my uncle. All this happened before I was eight years old, and so I can't remember very much about it. When I was about ten years old, my uncle hired me out to Captain. ... I was told that the Captain wanted me for his house-boy, and that later on he was going to train me to be his coachman. To be a coachman in those days was considered a post of honor, and young as I was, I was glad of the chance.

But I had not been at the Captain's a month before I was put to work on the farm, with some twenty or thirty other Negroes men, women and children. From the beginning the

boys had the same tasks as the men and women. There was no difference. We all worked hard during the week, and would frolic on Saturday nights and often on Sundays. And everybody was happy. The men got \$3 a week and the women \$2. I don't know what the children got. Every week my uncle collected my money for me, but it was very little of it that I ever saw. My uncle fed and clothed me, gave me a place to sleep, and allowed me ten or fifteen cents a week for "spending change," as he called it.

I must have been seventeen or eighteen years old before I got tired of that arrangement, and felt that I was man enough to be working for myself and handling my own wages. ... Unknown to my uncle or the Captain I went off to a neighboring plantation and hired myself out to another man. The new landlord agreed to give me forty cents a day and furnish me one meal. I thought that I was doing fine. Bright and early one Monday morning I started for work, still not letting the others know anything about it. But they found it out before sundown. The Captain came over to the new place and brought some kind of officer of the law. The officer pulled out a long piece of paper from his pocket and read it to my new employer. When this was done I heard my new boss say:

"I beg your pardon, Captain. I didn't know this nigger was bound out to you, or I wouldn't have hired him."

"He certainly is bound out to me," said the Captain. "He belongs to me und he is twenty-one, and I'm going to make him know his place."

So I was carried back to the Captain's. That night he made me strip off my clothing down to my waist, had me tied to a tree in his backyard, ordered his foreman to give me thirty lashes with a buggy whip across my bare back, and stood by until it was done. After that experience the Captain made me stay on his place night and day, but my uncle still continued to "draw" my money.

I was a man nearly grown before I knew how to count from one to one hundred. I was a

man nearly grown before I ever saw a colored school teacher. I never went to school a day in my life. To-day I can't write my own name, though I can read a little. I was a man nearly grown before I ever rode on a railroad train, and then I went on an excursion from Elberton to Athens. What was true of me was true of hundreds of other Negroes around me—'way off there in the country, fifteen or twenty miles from the nearest town.

When I reached twenty-one the Captain told me I was a free man, but he urged me to stay with him. He said he would treat me right, and pay me as much as anybody else would.

The Captain's son and I were about the same age, and the Captain said that, as he had owned my mother and uncle during slavery, and as his son didn't want me to leave them (since I had been with them so long), he wanted me to stay with the old family. And I stayed. I signed a contract—that is, I made my mark for one year. The captain was to give me \$3.50 a week, and furnish me a little house on the plantation—a one-room log cabin similar to those used by his other laborers.

During that year I married Mandy. For several years Mandy had been the house-servant for the Captain, his wife, his son and his three daughters, and they all seemed to think a good deal of her. As an evidence of their regard they gave us furniture, which cost about \$25, and we set up housekeeping in one of the Captain's two-room shanties. I thought I was the biggest man in Georgia. Mandy still kept her place in the "Big House" after our marriage. We did so well for the first year that I renewed my contract for the second year, and the third, fourth and fifth year I did the same thing.

Before the end of the fifth year the Captain had died, and his son, who had married some two or three years before, took charge of the plantation. Also, for two or three years, this son had been serving at Atlanta in some big office to which he had been elected. I think it was in the Legislature or something of that sort anyhow, all the people called him Senator. At the

end of the fifth year the Senator suggested that I sign up a contract for ten years; then, he said, we wouldn't have to fix up papers every year. I asked my wife about it; she consented, and so I made a ten-year contract.

Not long afterward the Senator had a long, low shanty built on his place. A great big chimney, with a wide, open fireplace, was built at one end of it, and on each side of the house, running lengthwise, there was a row of flames or stalls just large enough to hold a single mattress. ... They looked for all the world like stalls for horses. ... Nobody seemed to know what the Senator was fixing for.

All doubts were put aside one bright day in April when about forty able-bodied Negroes, bound in iron chains, and some of them handcuffed, were brought out to the Senator's farm in three big wagons. They were quartered in the long, low shanty, and it was afterward called the stockade. This was the beginning of the Senator's convict camp. These men were prisoners who had been leased by the Senator from the State of Georgia at about \$200 each per year, the State agreeing to pay for guards and physicians, for necessary inspection, for inquiries, all rewards for escaped convicts, the cost of litigation and all other incidental camp expenses. When I saw these men in shackles, and the guards with their guns, I was scared nearly to death. I felt like running away, but I didn't know where to go. And if there had been any place to go to, I would have had to leave my wife and child behind.

We free laborers held a meeting. We all wanted to quit. We sent a man to tell the Senator about it. Word came back that we were all under contract for ten years and that the Senator would hold us to the letter of the contract, or put us in chains and lock us up—the same as the other prisoners. It was made plain to us by some white people we talked to that in the contracts we had signed we had all agreed to be locked up in a stockade at night or at any other time that our employer saw fit; further, we learned that we could not lawfully break our

contract for any reason and go and hire ourselves to somebody else without the consent of our employer; and, more than that, if we got mad and ran away, we could be run down by bloodhounds, arrested without process of law, and be returned to our employers, who, according to the contract, might beat us brutally or administer any other kind of punishment that he thought proper.

In other words, we had sold ourselves into slavery—and what could we do about it? The white folks had all the courts, all the guns, all the hounds, all the railroads, all the telegraph wires, all the newspapers, all the money, and nearly all the land, and we had only our ignorance, our poverty and our empty hands. We decided that the best thing to do was to shut our mouths, say nothing, and go back to work. And most of us worked side by side with those convicts during the remainder of the ten years.

But this first batch of convicts was only the beginning. Within six months another stockade was built, and twenty or thirty other convicts were brought to the plantation, among them six or eight women! The Senator had bought an additional thousand acres of land, and to his already large cotton plantation he added two great big saw-mills and went into the lumber business. Within two years the Senator had in all nearly 200 Negroes working on his plantation about half of them free laborers, so called, and about half of them convicts. The only difference between the free laborers and the others was that the free laborers could come and go as they pleased, at night that is, they were not locked up at night, and were not, as a general thing, whipped for slight offenses.

The troubles of the free laborers began at the close of the ten-year period. To a man, they all wanted to quit when the time was up. To a man, they all refused to sign new contracts—even for one year, not to say anything of ten years. And just when we thought that our bondage was at an end we found that it had really just begun. Two or three years before, or about a year and a half after the Senator had

started his camp, he had established a large store, which was called the commissary. All of us free laborers were compelled to buy our supplies—food, clothing, etc. from the store. We never used any money in our dealings at the commissary, only tickets or orders, and we had a general settlement once each year, in October. In this store we were charged all sorts of high prices for goods, because every year we would come out in debt to our employer. If not that, we seldom had more than \$5 or \$10 coming to us and that for a whole year's work. Well, at the close of the tenth year, when we kicked and meant to leave the Senator, he said to some of us with a smile (and I never will forget that smile—I can see it now):

"Boys, I'm sorry you're going to leave me. I hope you will do well in your new places—so well that you will be able to pay me the little balances which most of you owe me."

Word was sent out for all of us to meet him at the commissary at 2 o'clock. There he told us that, after we had signed what he called a written acknowledgment of our debts, we might go and look for new places. The store-keeper took us one by one and read to us statements of our accounts. According to the books there was no man of us who owed the Senator less than \$100; some of us were put down for as much as \$200. I owed \$165, according to the bookkeeper.

These debts were not accumulated during one year, but ran back for three and four years, so we were told in spite of the fact that we understood that we had had a full settlement at the end of each year. But no one of us would have dared to dispute a white man's word—o, no; not in those days. Besides, we fellows didn't care anything about the amounts we were after getting away; and we had been told that we might go, if we signed the acknowledgments. We would have signed anything, just to get away. So we stepped up, we did, and made our marks.

That same night we were rounded up by a constable and ten or twelve white men, who aided him, and we were locked up, every one of

us, in the Senator's stockades. The next morning it was explained to us by the two guards appointed to watch us that, in the papers we had signed the day before, we had not only made acknowledgement of our indebtedness, but that we had also agreed to work for the Senator until the debts were paid by hard labor. And from that day forward we were treated just like convicts. Really we had made ourselves lifetime slaves, or peons, as the laws called us. But, call it slavery, peonage, or what not, the truth is we lived in a hell on earth what time we spent in the Senator's peon camp.

I lived in that camp, as a peon, for nearly three years. My wife fared better than I did, as did the wives of some of the other Negroes, because the white men about the camp used these unfortunate creatures as their mistresses. When I was first put in the stockade, my wife was still kept for a while in the "Big House," but my little boy, who was only nine years old, was given away to a Negro family across the river in South Carolina, and I never saw or heard of him after that. When I left the camp, my wife had had two children by some one of the white bosses, and she was living in fairly good shape in a little house off to herself.

But the poor Negro women who were not in the class with my wife fared about as bad as the helpless Negro men. Most of the time the women who were peons or convicts were compelled to wear men's clothes. Sometimes, when I have seen them dressed like men, and plowing or hoeing or hauling logs or working at the blacksmith's trade, just the same as men, my heart would bleed and my blood would boil, but I was powerless to raise a hand. It would have meant death on the spot to have said a word. Of the first six women brought to the camp, two of them gave birth to children after they had been there more than twelve months and the babies had white men for their fathers!

The stockades in which we slept were, I believe, the filthiest places in the world. They were cesspools of nastiness. During the three

years that I was there I am willing to swear that a mattress was never moved after it had been brought there, except to turn it over once or twice a month. No sheets were used, only dark-colored blankets. Most of the men slept every night in the clothing that they had worked in all day. Some of the worst characters were made to sleep in chains. The doors were locked and barred each night, and tallow candles were the only lights allowed. Really the stockades were but little more than cow sheds, horse stables or hog pens...

But I didn't tell you how I got out. I didn't get out—they put me out. When I had served as a peon for nearly three years—and you remember that they claimed that I owed them only \$165—when I had served for nearly three years, one of the bosses came to me and said that my time was up. He happened to be the one who was said to be living with my wife. He gave me a new suit of overalls, which cost about seventy-five cents, took me in a buggy and carried me across the Broad River into South Carolina, set me down and told me to "git." I didn't have a cent of money, and I wasn't feeling well, but somehow I managed to get a move on me. I begged my way to Columbia. In two or three days I ran across a man looking for laborers to carry to Birmingham, and I joined his gang. I have been here in Birmingham district since they released me, and I reckon I'll die either in a coal mine or an iron furnace. It don't make much difference which. Either is better than a Georgia peon camp. And a Georgia peon camp is hell itself.

—ANONYMOUS, *Independent Magazine*

APPENDIX A.10 "THE UNEDUCATED NEGRO WAS TOO WEAK"

Controversy and fraud marked the 1876 presidential election between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden. A special commission was formed to resolve 20 disputed

electoral votes. On a strictly partisan 8-7 vote, the commission assigned all the disputed votes to Hayes, meaning he would win the electoral vote 185-184. Inflamed Democrats threatened to contest the election but instead struck a deal with Hayes and the Republicans. In exchange for removing troops from the South, naming a Southerner to the cabinet, and allocating federal aid to the South, the Southern Democrats agreed to support the commission's finding. As a result, Democrats regained state political control throughout the region. Former South Carolina governor Daniel Chamberlain wrote about the fall of the Republican Party in South Carolina to William Lloyd Garrison in June 1877.

Dear Mr. Garrison...

Your prophecy is fulfilled, and I am not only overthrown, but as a consequence I am now a citizen of New York. It seems to me a remarkable experience indeed, though I hope I do not egotistically exaggerate it, for I am sure it will soon be forgotten by most men in the press and hurry of new events. Why I write this line now and send it to Boston when I know you are in Europe, is because I feel like putting on record my main reflections on my experiences of the last three years. ...

First, then, my defeat was inevitable under the circumstances of time and place which surrounded me. I mean here exactly that the uneducated negro was too weak, no matter what his numbers, to cope with the whites.

We had lost too, the sympathy of the North, in some large measure, though we never deserved it so certainly as in 1876 in South Carolina.

The Presidential contest also endangered us and doubtless defeated us. The hope of electing Tilden incited our opponents, and the greed of office led the defeated Republicans under Hayes to sell us out. There was just as distinct a bargain to do this at Washington as ever existed which was not signed and sealed on paper. And the South is not to be blamed for it, if anybody is; but rather those leaders, like Evans, who could never see their Constitutional obligations towards the South until the offices were slipping away from their party.

So the end came, but not as you expected. ...
—DANIEL CHAMBERLAIN

APPENDIX A.11 "A GENERAL REESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER"

When President Rutherford B. Hayes delivered his first annual message to Congress in December 1877, all of the conditions in the political agreement between the Republicans and the Democrats had been accomplished. The Reconstruction Era ended, and a century-long dominance of segregationist Democratic state governments in the South had been initiated. Hayes—who was a decorated Civil War veteran and radical Republican who voted for Johnson's impeachment—emphasized the need for North and South to continue the reconciliation of differences. Hayes praised the progress that had been made in the South in reestablishing its economy, political stability and judicial system.

To complete and make permanent the pacification of the country continues to be, and until it is fully accomplished must remain, the most important of all our national interests. The earnest purpose of good citizens generally to unite their efforts in this endeavor is evident. It found decided expression in the resolutions announced in 1876 by the national conventions of the leading political parties of the country. There was a widespread apprehension that the momentous results in our progress as a nation marked by the recent amendments to the Constitution were in imminent jeopardy; that the good understanding which prompted their adoption, in the interest of a loyal devotion to the general welfare, might prove a barren truce, and that the two sections of the country, once engaged in civil strife, might be again almost as widely severed and disinclined as they were when arrayed in arms against each other.

The course to be pursued, which, in my judgment, seemed wisest in the presence of this